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The Influence of the  
Nagy-Maleter Executions on West German Expectations  
Concerning a Summit Conference

Report No. C-21

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## I N T R O D U C T I O N

This report is another in a series designed to follow West German reactions to issues of possible importance upon the holding of a Summit Conference. The announcement on June 17, 1958 that Premier Nagy and General Maleter had been executed launched another wave of reaction against the Soviet Union in many quarters of the globe. This particular study was therefore planned not only to determine the nature and extent of West German reactions to this "news of the day" but also to determine how it influenced their expectations regarding a possible Summit Conference.

The sample is, of course, a probability one of the West German adult population (18 years of age and over), and consists of a total of 1,676 cases interviewed during the period from July 4th through 28th, 1958. Interviewing was accomplished by DIVO, Marktforschung - Meinungsforschung - Sozialforschung, GmbH, Frankfurt am Main/ Bad Godesberg.

## S U M M A R Y

If the Nagy-Maleter executions shocked West German sensitivities, there was little evidence of it some two to five weeks after the announcement, when this survey was carried out. It was named as the most important event of the preceding four weeks by less than one out of ten. The football championships, unrest in the Middle East, and the local elections in North Rhine/Westphalia ranked as high or higher.

When asked to pass judgment upon the executions, seven out of ten said that there was absolutely no justification for such action, but one-fourth of the population withheld judgment. There was considerable uncertainty over the significances of the event, and a plurality saw it as a warning to the West not to interfere in the affairs of the East (Moscow's line since the suppression of the revolution).

Few people believe that the executions will have an influence upon the holding of a Summit Conference; and those who do think so, only believe that it will make negotiations more difficult, rather than prevent the meeting from taking place. Expectations concerning the probability that a Summit meeting will occur have not materially changed since April, when a conference was viewed as more likely than not.



## Section I - Awareness of the Executions

FEWER THAN ONE OUT OF TEN SPONTANEOUSLY NAMED EXECUTIONS AS "MOST IMPORTANT EVENT" OF THE PAST FOUR WEEKS, YET SIX OUT OF TEN NAMED IT WHEN HUNGARY MENTIONED ...

While the announcement of the executions of ex-Premier Nagy and General Maleter was supposed to have shocked the consciences of the Free World, this event was far from uppermost in the minds of the West German population some two to five weeks after the announcement was made.

When they were asked to say what was the most important event which occurred in the preceding four weeks, fewer than one person out of ten (7%) named the executions. As a matter of fact this event ranked on the same level as the football championships then taking place in Sweden (also 7%). While the differences are statistically insignificant, the most often named events were the political unrest in the Near East and Africa (10%), discussions on the suspension of A-bomb tests (8%), and the election campaign in Land North Rhine/Westphalia (8%), which occurred on July 6th.

A separate tabulation of the first several hundred interviews, collected during the first days of interviewing (July 4 - 9) revealed that time was not a factor in removing the Hungarian events from the forefront of respondents' thoughts. In this earlier period, the percentage of people naming the executions was really no higher than the final figure for the entire sample. It was but 9 per cent - as compared with the final figure of 7 per cent.

"When you consider what has happened in the world in the last four weeks, what would you say was the most important event?"

Summary Table

	TOTAL West Germany (1676)	Interviews July 4 - 9 (461)
Hungarian execution mentioned	7%	9%
Other answers	50	47
No answer	46	47
	103% <sup>@</sup>	103% <sup>@</sup>

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.



It was only when the word "Hungary" was part of the question put to the sample in a subsequent query, that some six out of ten respondents (58%) then recollected that Nagy and Maleter had been executed. An additional two per cent, although saying that they had heard of "the recent events in connection with Hungary" when asked to say what this event was, mentioned something other than the Nagy-Maleter affair.

Thus it can be seen, that even when the subject of "recent events in Hungary" was raised, more than four out of ten West Germans admitted that they did not know what this recent Hungarian news could have been.

"Have you perhaps heard of the recent events in connection with Hungary? (What was it?)"

	TOTAL West Germany (1676)
Yes, right	58%
- , wrong	2
No	40
	100%

VERBATIM COMMENTS ON "THE MOST IMPORTANT EVENT IN THE PAST FOUR WEEKS" ...

"When you consider what has happened in the world in the last four weeks, what would you say was the most important event?"

The Middle East and North Africa:

TOTAL  
West Germany  
(1676)

10%

"In my opinion, the bloody revolt in Iraq was the most important event."

"The war in the Middle East I consider the most important event."

"I think of the Lebanese uprising in this connection."

"Well, I believe the recent development in Jordan to be rather serious."

"I think that the political situation in North Africa has taken a turn for the worse lately."

Atomic energy (the conference; the proposal to halt tests; danger in general):

8

"In my opinion, the conference of the atomic experts in Geneva is one of the most important events that took place in the last four weeks."

"The Russian proposal to end all nuclear tests seems to me of great importance."

"During the last four weeks various proposals were made to end all nuclear tests. This I consider a very important development."

"The constant menace of the atom-bomb is of greater importance than anything else."

(Cont'd on next page)



The elections in North Rhine/Westphalia:

8%

- "I believe that the state elections in North Rhine/Westphalia were of great importance."  
"The elections in North Rhine/Westphalia seem very important to me."  
"The elections that took place here recently must be mentioned in this connection."

The execution in Hungary:

7

- "I think that the execution of Nagy and Maleter was the most important event in the last four weeks."  
"Those murders in Hungary were the most important event in my opinion."  
"I think that the events in Hungary were most important."  
"In my opinion, the execution of the Hungarian freedom fighters was the most important event."

The soccer world championship:

7

- "The German soccer team was unable to win the world championship again. To me this news was very important."  
"I regard the soccer world championship as one of the most important events during the last four weeks."  
"The soccer games that took place in Sweden some time ago interested me most."

De Gaulle's advent to power in France:

5

- "De Gaulle's rise to power in France undoubtedly was one of the most important events during the past four weeks."  
"De Gaulle taking over the government of France: this, in my opinion, is the most important event that happened in the past few weeks."  
"I think that the change of government in France was rather important."

Preparations for a Summit Conference (East/West relations):

4

- "The preparation for a Summit Conference is a step that seems of great importance to me."  
"The East and West governments' willingness to reenter into negotiations is a marked event of recent weeks."  
"The new conflict that flared up between East and West I consider very serious and important."

President Hauss' visit to America:

2

- "Our President Heuss visited America and Canada. A rather remarkable event from my point of view."  
"A few weeks ago, Heuss went to the States. This visit is very important to Germany."

Atomic weapons for the Bundeswehr:

1

- "In my opinion, the decision recently taken by the government to equip the Bundeswehr with atomic weapons is of great importance."  
"One of the headline events of the last four weeks was the announcement of a plebiscite on atomic armament of the Bundeswehr."

(Cont'd on next page)

TOTAL  
West Germany

The growing tension between Yugoslavia and the East bloc: 1%

"I consider the new rift that occurred between Yugoslavia and Russia the most important happening during the last few weeks."  
"I am sure that Nasser's visit to Tito must be regarded as a very important event."

Other answers: 4

"The food prices have gone up during the last four weeks."  
"The new tax reform I consider as a very important event."  
"I just think of the news regarding the many bus accidents."

No opinion:  $\frac{46}{103\%}$ @

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Section II - Reactions to the Executions

SEVEN OUT OF TEN CONDEMN EXECUTIONS - BUT ONE QUARTER WITHHOLD JUDGMENT ...

In response to the query of whether they felt these measures were justified in any respect or not (after the entire sample had been informed of the announcement of the executions), only one person out of twenty (5%) could be found who felt that these measures were in any respect justified. Most of the few who saw any justification indicated that the Communists were "partly" (4%) rather than "completely" justified in their actions (1%).

Although it is true that seven out of ten (69%) replied that these executions were "not at all justified", one should not lose sight of the fact that one-quarter of the population (26%) had "no opinion" on the question of possible justification.

"In your opinion, were these measures of the Communist regime in Hungary justified in any respect or not? (IF "Justified": Completely or only partly justified?)"

	TOTAL
	<u>West Germany</u>
	(1676)
Completely justified	1%
Partly justified	4
Not at all justified	69
No opinion	26
	<u>100%</u>

CONSIDERABLE UNCERTAINTY OVER SIGNIFICANCE OF EXECUTIONS ... PLURALITY SEES IT AS WARNING TO THE WEST, RATHER THAN AS A MOVE DIRECTED AGAINST SATELLITES ...

While a majority of the West German population (54%) agreed that these executions indicated a renewed policy of toughness and terror on the part of the East, almost as many either disagreed with this interpretation or simply admitted that they had no ideas on the subject.

"Do you believe that these executions indicate a renewed policy of toughness and terror on the side of the East or does it not mean that?"

	TOTAL
	<u>West Germany</u>
Yes, it does	54%
No, it does not	9
No opinion	37
	<u>100%</u>

A card containing four possible reasons why the executions were announced, as and when they were, were then presented to all respondents with the request that they indicate which of them they believed applied. Again, a sizeable group - one-third of the sample - apparently feeling that they were in no position to judge what the motivation may have been did not select any of the alternatives offered.

The reason selected most often was the fourth one which called it "a warning to the West not to interfere in the affairs of the East" (42%). The other three reasons - a warning to "national-Communist movements", "to Yugoslavia" and "to Poland" - were selected by much smaller percentages (21%, 15%, and 10% respectively).

Inasmuch as the Soviets have been proclaiming since their intervention in the Hungarian revolution, that it was a dastardly counter-revolutionary plot engineered by the West, the fact that the largest percentage selected point "D" (the warning to the West not to interfere) should perhaps be viewed with uneasiness. Soviet repetition of their claim would appear to have been consciously or unconsciously adopted by many West Germans.

"Here on this card are some reasons why these executions were announced now. (CARD)  
Which of them, do you believe, apply?"

	TOTAL
	<u>West Germany</u>
	(1676)
A - As a warning to Poland	10%
B - As a warning to Yugoslavia	15
C - As a warning to national- Communist movements in general	21
D - As a warning to the West not to interfere in the affairs of the East	42
No opinion	<u>34</u>
	122% <sup>@</sup>

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Section III - Influence on a Possible Summit Conference

EXECUTIONS SEEN AS HAVING LITTLE INFLUENCE UPON SUMMIT CONFERENCE ...

In answer to a direct question as to whether these executions will or will not have any influence on the planned Summit Conference, a bare majority had an opinion - and then, there were fully as many thinking that it would have no influence (29%) as there were saying that it would have a bearing (28%).

Those who answered that the executions would have an influence were then asked whether they felt that the conference would never take place as a result of this action or whether it would merely make negotiations more difficult. Almost all of those asked this further query replied that it would only make negotiations more difficult (24% of the 28%).

"Do you believe that the execution will or will not have any influence on the planned Summit Conference?"

	TOTAL
	<u>West Germany</u>
	(1676)
Yes, will have an influence	28%
No, will not have an influence	29
No opinion	<u>43</u>
	100%

IF "Yes, will have an influence":

"Do you mean that it will prevent the holding of the conference or only that it will make negotiations at this conference more difficult?"

	TOTAL
	<u>West Germany</u>
It will prevent a conference	3%
Negotiations will be more difficult	24
No opinion	<u>1</u>
	28%



A cross-tabulation of replies to this question, of the influence of the executions upon the conference, according to what was felt to be the reason for the executions reveals one interesting side-light. Only among those who felt that the reason was "to warn the West", are there more people saying that the executions will have an influence upon the holding of a Summit Conference than there are saying that it will not (41% versus 35%). Among those selecting the other three reasons there are significantly larger percentages saying that the executions will not have an influence.

"Here on this card are some reasons why these executions were announced now. (CARD)  
Which of them, do you believe, apply?"

	<u>As a warning to ...</u>				
		National- Communist			No
	Poland	Yugo- slavia	movements in general	The West	opinion
	(176)	(254)	(359)	(690)	(577)
"Do you believe that the execution will or will not have any influence on the planned Summit Conference?"					
Yes, will have an influence	38%	42%	36%	41%	9%
No, will not have an influence	43	46	47	35	8
No opinion	19	12	17	24	83
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

U.S. CREDITED WITH MORE INTEREST IN HOLDING CONFERENCE THAN ARE RUSSIANS ...

Two successive questions revealed that the United States is considered to have greater interest in holding a Summit Conference than the Russians. Almost half (47%) say that American interest is "great" or "very great" while only 17 per cent say that about the Russian interest.

While America is clearly given more credit for having an interest in the holding of a Summit Conference (a goal that the great majority of the West German population favors - see Report C-14, "First Reactions to the Explorer", February 27, 1958, OFFICIAL USE ONLY), it must also be remembered that answers to this type of query also indirectly reflect popular attitudes towards the countries involved. And as we already know from many surveys, the United States is always much more popular than the Soviet Union. The real value of these questions will appear in time when trends in answers can be compared.

"How great, do you think, is the actual ..... interest in holding a Summit Conference - very great, great, or slight?"

	<u>American interest</u>	<u>Russian interest</u>
Very great	15% )	4% )
Great	32 } 47	13 } 17
Slight	16 )	31 )
No interest whatever	3 } 19	17 } 48
No opinion	<u>34</u> ---	<u>35</u> ---
	100%	100%
<u>NET OPINION</u>	+28	-31



LITTLE NET CHANGE IN EXPECTATIONS CONCERNING THE HOLDING OF A CONFERENCE ...

A comparison of popular expectations concerning the probabilities of a Summit Conference actually taking place is available. Present opinions can be contrasted with expectations in April of this year, when the identical question was asked of another representative sample of the West German population.

While there are slight variations in the percentages selecting the various answer categories, there has actually been little net change in opinion from April until July. True, there is now a somewhat smaller percentage saying a conference is probable (43% now as against 49% earlier) but there is also a somewhat smaller percentage, saying it is not likely to occur. The gain in the percentage having "no opinion" (now 32% as against 23% earlier) seems to have come from both the "optimists" and the "pessimists". As a result, the Net Opinion, calculated by subtracting the percentage feeling that a conference is not probable from those who feel that it is, only shifts from a score of +21 in April 1958 to +18 in July.

"When you consider present political developments, do you think it probable or improbable that a Summit Conference will actually take place? (Very probable or probable?) (Not so probable or very improbable?)"

	April 58 (930)	July 58 (1676)
Very probable	10% )	8% )
Probable	39 ) 49	35 ) 43
Not so probable	20 )	18 )
Very improbable	8 ) 28	7 ) 25
No opinion	<u>23</u> —	<u>32</u> —
	100%	100%
<u>NET OPINION</u>	+21	+18

THOSE ASCRIBING GREAT INTEREST TO RUSSIA MORE LIKELY TO CALL CONFERENCE PROBABLE THAN IS THE CASE AMONG THOSE SAYING U.S. HAS GREAT INTEREST ...

YET ...

THOSE SAYING U.S. INTEREST IS LOW ARE MORE PESSIMISTIC THAN THOSE ASSIGNING LITTLE INTEREST TO RUSSIA ...

Cross-tabulation of responses to the question of American and Russian interest in the holding of a Summit Conference with the respondents' personal opinion concerning the likelihood of a meeting taking place yields some noteworthy differences.

A first analysis of the replies concerning the level of American and Russian interest in a Summit Conference according to opinion as to whether such a meeting was likely revealed that regardless of the level of expectation regarding the holding of the conference more interest in the meeting was ascribed to the United States than was given to Russia. The higher the level of expectation, the higher the level of interest in the holding of such a conference was ascribed to both countries. However, such results might have been anticipated on the basis of the original replies to the question of interest of the two countries in holding a Summit Conference.

Percentages were, therefore, calculated in the other direction in the table. Thus, from the tables below, one can see that whereas those individuals who said Russian interest was great, or very great were more likely than those who said that about the U.S. to call a Summit Conference probable (84% versus 66%). Among those who said that U.S. interest was slight or non-existent, there was more pessimism than there was among those who felt that way about the Russians (47% as against 38%). An even simpler way of pointing this out is to examine the Net Scores. (The Net Scores represent the differences between the percentages replying that a conference was "probable" or "very probable" and those saying that it was "not so probable" or "very improbable".)

For those feeling that the Russians had great interest in a Summit meeting there is a Net Score of +54, while for those calling U.S. interest that high, the figure is but +41.

On the reverse side of the ledger, we note that those calling Russian interest low, (and there are more such people than there are saying this about the U.S.) the Net Score is still plus 15. Those who think that U.S. interest is low return a Net Score of minus 5!

"How great, do you think, is the actual ..... interest in holding a Summit Conference - very great, great, or slight?"

U.S. interest		Russian Interest	
Great/ Very great	Slight/None whatever	Great/ Very great	Slight/None whatever
(780)	(316)	(278)	(811)

"When you consider present political developments, do you think it probable or improbable that a Summit Conference will actually take place? (Very probable or probable?) (Not so probable or very improbable?)"

Very probable	14% } 66%	7% } 42%	18% } 74%	10% } 53%
Probable	52	35	56	43
Not so probable	20 } 25	30 } 47	16 } 20	27 } 38
Very improbable	5	17	4	11
No opinion	9	11	6	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>NET SCORE</u>	+41	- 5	+54	+15

A P P E N D I X

(Population Groupbreaks)

"When you consider what has happened in the world in the last four weeks, what, would you say, was the most important event?"

	<u>Hungary named</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germany</u>	7%	50%	46%...103% <sup>@</sup>	1676
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	9	62	32 ...103% <sup>@</sup>	759
Women	5	38	58 ...101% <sup>@</sup>	917
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	7	46	49 ...102% <sup>@</sup>	1400
Secondary school w/o diploma	7	60	35 ...102% <sup>@</sup>	220
Diploma/university	13	77	14 ...104% <sup>@</sup>	58
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	-	21	79 ...100%	53
150 to 249 DM	6	38	58 ...102% <sup>@</sup>	146
250 to 399 DM	5	44	52 ...101% <sup>@</sup>	264
400 to 499 DM	8	49	44 ...101% <sup>@</sup>	271
500 DM and more	7	59	37 ...103% <sup>@</sup>	554
No answer	7	43	51 ...101% <sup>@</sup>	388
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper middle and well-to-do	8	66	29 ...103% <sup>@</sup>	237
Lower middle	7	49	46 ...102% <sup>@</sup>	976
Poor	6	38	57 ...101% <sup>@</sup>	463
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	5	55	44 ...104% <sup>@</sup>	177
25 to 34 years	7	51	44 ...102% <sup>@</sup>	336
35 to 44 years	9	52	41 ...102% <sup>@</sup>	350
45 to 54 years	7	49	46 ...102% <sup>@</sup>	355
55 years and over	6	41	54 ...101% <sup>@</sup>	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	8	56	38 ...102% <sup>@</sup>	396
CDU/CSU	7	51	44 ...102% <sup>@</sup>	685
FDP	8	72	22 ...102% <sup>@</sup>	51
Other parties	10	43	50 ...103% <sup>@</sup>	30
No party	5	46	50 ...101% <sup>@</sup>	162
No opinion	5	34	62 ...101% <sup>@</sup>	352
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	15	66	19 ...100%	27
Businessmen	12	52	36 ...100%	118
White-collar workers	9	62	31 ...102% <sup>@</sup>	260
Skilled laborers	7	65	31 ...103% <sup>@</sup>	230
Semi-skilled laborers	6	53	43 ...102% <sup>@</sup>	194
Farmers; farmhands	8	28	66 ...102% <sup>@</sup>	87
Housewives	5	36	60 ...101% <sup>@</sup>	646
Pensioners; retired	3	47	51 ...101% <sup>@</sup>	102
Students; apprentices	8	83	33 ...124% <sup>@</sup>	12
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	7	47	49 ...101% <sup>@</sup>	1303
Expellees; refugees	9	51	41 ...101% <sup>@</sup>	373
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	7	46	48 ...101% <sup>@</sup>	727
Protestants	6	50	46 ...102% <sup>@</sup>	893
Others	6	56	44 ...106% <sup>@</sup>	18
No religion	8	58	34 ...100%	38

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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	<u>Hungary named</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	5%	37%	59%...101% <sup>@</sup>	461
2,000 to 19,999	8	46	48 ...102% <sup>@</sup>	541
20,000 to 99,999	8	56	36 ...100%	249
100,000 and over	6	59	38 ...103% <sup>@</sup>	425
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	4	49	48 ...101% <sup>@</sup>	159
Lower Saxony	6	42	52 ...100%	238
North Rhine/Westphalia	5	60	38 ...103% <sup>@</sup>	502
Hesse	8	48	45 ...101% <sup>@</sup>	117
Rhineland/Palatinate	5	40	56 ...101% <sup>@</sup>	124
Baden/Wuerttemberg	14	40	49 ...103% <sup>@</sup>	248
Bavaria	7	45	51 ...103% <sup>@</sup>	288

<sup>@</sup> Some respondents gave more than one answer.



"Have you perhaps heard of the recent events in connection with Hungary? (What was it?)"

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germany</u>	58%	42%...100%	1676
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	72	28	759
Women	47	57	917
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	55	45	1400
Secondary school w/o diploma	69	31	220
Diploma/university	84	16	56
<u>Income:</u>			
Up to 149 DM	38	62	53
150 to 249 DM	51	49	146
250 to 399 DM	54	46	264
400 to 499 DM	60	40	271
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<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professionals	85	15	27
Businessmen	68	32	118
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Skilled laborers	73	27	230
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	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
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Lower Saxony	60	40	238
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Baden/Wuerttemberg	58	42	248
Bavaria	55	45	288

"In your opinion, were these measures of the Communist regime in Hungary justified in any respect or not?  
(IF "Justified": Completely or only partly justified?)"

	Completely justified/ Partly justified	Not at all justified	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germany</u>	5%	69%	26%...100%	1676
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	6	79	15	759
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<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper middle and well-to-do	4	78	18	237
Lower middle	5	70	25	976
Poor	6	61	33	463
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	5	67	28	177
25 to 34 years	6	69	25	336
35 to 44 years	6	69	25	350
45 to 54 years	5	68	27	355
55 years and over	4	67	29	458
<u>Party Preferences:</u>				
SPD	8	76	16	396
CDU/CSU	4	73	23	685
FDP	8	84	8	51
Other parties	3	70	27	30
No party	5	65	30	162
No opinion	4	48	48	352
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	7	86	7	27
Businessmen	7	77	16	118
White-collar workers	7	78	15	260
Skilled laborers	7	75	18	230
Semi-skilled laborers	4	76	20	194
Farmers; farmhands	3	66	31	87
Housewives	3	59	38	646
Pensioners; retired	6	66	28	102
Students; apprentices	8	67	25	12
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	5	67	28	1303
Expellees; refugees	6	71	23	373
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	4	67	29	727
Protestants	5	70	25	893
Others	22	50	28	18
No religion	13	66	21	38

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	<u>Completely justified/ Partly justified</u>	<u>Not at all justified</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	3%	63%	34%...100%	461
2,000 to 19,999	5	71	24	541
20,000 to 99,999	4	73	23	249
100,000 and over	8	68	24	425
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holst in,				
Hamburg, Bremen	9	73	18	159
Lower Saxony	3	71	26	238
North Rhine/Westphalia	4	72	24	502
Hesse	4	65	31	117
Rhineland/Palatinate	6	65	29	124
Baden/Wuerttemberg	6	72	22	248
Bavaria	5	58	37	288

"Do you believe that these executions indicate a renewed policy of toughness and terror on the side of the East or does it not mean that?"

	<u>Yes, it does</u>	<u>No, it does not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germany</u>	54%	9%	37%...100%	1676
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	64	13	23	759
Women	45	7	48	917
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	52	8	40	1400
Secondary school w/o diploma	62	13	25	220
Diploma/university	64	27	9	56
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	24	6	70	53
150 to 249 DM	53	2	45	146
250 to 399 DM	51	11	38	264
400 to 499 DM	56	9	35	271
500 DM and more	62	13	25	554
No answer	47	7	46	388
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper middle and well-to-do	64	11	25	237
Lower middle	55	10	35	976
Poor	46	8	46	463
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	60	5	35	177
25 to 34 years	54	12	34	336
35 to 44 years	55	11	34	350
45 to 54 years	54	12	34	355
55 years and over	49	7	44	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	59	13	28	396
CDU/CSU	60	8	32	685
FDP	74	16	10	51
Other parties	50	13	37	30
No party	43	16	41	162
No opinion	39	4	57	352
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	70	11	19	27
Businessmen	64	11	25	118
White-collar workers	61	14	25	260
Skilled laborers	66	11	23	230
Semi-skilled laborers	57	11	32	194
Farmers; farmhands	52	7	41	87
Housewives	42	8	50	646
Pensioners; retired	59	5	36	102
Students; apprentices	75	-	25	12
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	53	9	38	1303
Expellees; refugees	57	10	33	373
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	52	8	40	727
Protestants	56	10	34	893
Others	17	33	50	18
No religion	45	18	37	38

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	<u>Yes, it does</u>	<u>No, it does not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	49%	6%	45%...100%	461
2,000 to 19,999	57	8	35	541
20,000 to 99,999	59	12	29	249
100,000 and over	52	13	35	425
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	52	13	35	159
Lower Saxony	57	7	36	238
North Rhine/Westphalia	59	8	33	502
Hesse	44	13	43	117
Rhineland/Palatinate	49	6	45	124
Baden/Wuerttemberg	56	11	33	248
Bavaria	47	10	43	288

"Here on this card are some reasons why these executions were announced now. (CARD)

Which of them, do you believe, apply?"

- A - As a warning to Poland
- B - As a warning to Yugoslavia
- C - As a warning to national-Communist movements in general
- D - As a warning to the West not to interfere in the affairs of the East

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germany</u>	10%	15%	21%	42%	34%...122% <sup>@</sup>	1676
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	14	21	30	48	18 ...131% <sup>@</sup>	759
Women	8	10	14	36	48 ...116% <sup>@</sup>	917
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	10	14	19	41	37 ...121% <sup>@</sup>	1400
Secondary school w/o diploma	14	20	29	45	22 ...130% <sup>@</sup>	220
Diploma/university	16	25	45	39	11 ...136% <sup>@</sup>	56
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	6	6	9	25	60 ...106% <sup>@</sup>	53
150 to 249 DM	14	17	11	42	43 ...127% <sup>@</sup>	146
250 to 399 DM	11	12	19	42	41 ...125% <sup>@</sup>	264
400 to 499 DM	8	13	24	44	30 ...119% <sup>@</sup>	271
500 DM and more	13	21	27	44	23 ...128% <sup>@</sup>	554
No answer	8	12	18	36	42 ...116% <sup>@</sup>	388
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>						
Upper middle and well-to-do	14	19	31	43	24 ...131% <sup>@</sup>	237
Lower middle	10	15	22	42	32 ...121% <sup>@</sup>	976
Poor	10	13	16	38	44 ...121% <sup>@</sup>	463
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 24 years	8	11	19	45	35 ...118% <sup>@</sup>	177
25 to 34 years	11	16	24	42	30 ...123% <sup>@</sup>	336
35 to 44 years	11	17	23	42	32 ...125% <sup>@</sup>	350
45 to 54 years	11	14	25	42	34 ...126% <sup>@</sup>	355
55 years and over	10	15	17	38	40 ...120% <sup>@</sup>	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	11	16	23	45	28 ...123% <sup>@</sup>	396
CDU/CSU	12	17	25	43	29 ...126% <sup>@</sup>	685
FDP	20	29	29	51	10 ...139% <sup>@</sup>	51
Other parties	20	17	27	46	23 ...133% <sup>@</sup>	30
No party	7	14	16	43	38 ...118% <sup>@</sup>	162
No opinion	6	10	13	29	56 ...114% <sup>@</sup>	352
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	7	18	41	48	4 ...118% <sup>@</sup>	27
Businessmen	10	9	30	43	21 ...113% <sup>@</sup>	118
White-collar workers	13	22	33	42	21 ...131% <sup>@</sup>	260
Skilled laborers	13	20	25	50	20 ...128% <sup>@</sup>	230
Semi-skilled laborers	15	19	27	51	25 ...137% <sup>@</sup>	194
Farmers; farmhands	7	11	14	37	43 ...112% <sup>@</sup>	87
Housewives	8	10	13	33	50 ...114% <sup>@</sup>	646
Pensioners; retired	11	20	15	48	37 ...131% <sup>@</sup>	102
Students; apprentices	8	17	25	33	25 ...108% <sup>@</sup>	12
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	10	14	21	41	36 ...122% <sup>@</sup>	1303
Expellees; refugees	11	19	24	43	29 ...126% <sup>@</sup>	373

<sup>@</sup> Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	10%	14%	20%	41%	37%...122% <sup>@</sup>	727
Protestants	11	16	22	42	33 ...124% <sup>@</sup>	893
Others	6	11	22	39	44 ...122% <sup>@</sup>	18
No religion	10	16	29	45	26 ...126% <sup>@</sup>	38
<u>City Size:</u>						
Up to 1,999	9	14	16	37	44 ...120% <sup>@</sup>	461
2,000 to 19,999	10	14	23	44	33 ...124% <sup>@</sup>	541
20,000 to 99,999	16	26	22	42	30 ...136% <sup>@</sup>	249
100,000 and over	9	12	25	42	28 ...116% <sup>@</sup>	425
<u>Land:</u>						
Scleswig/Holstein,						
Hamburg, Bremen	15	19	21	46	26 ...127% <sup>@</sup>	159
Lower Saxony	13	15	21	47	35 ...131% <sup>@</sup>	238
North Rhine/Westphalia	10	13	25	42	32 ...122% <sup>@</sup>	502
Hesse	8	14	22	34	38 ...116% <sup>@</sup>	117
Rhineland/Palatinate	2	10	15	33	49 ...109% <sup>@</sup>	124
Baden/Wuerttemberg	10	25	20	36	32 ...123% <sup>@</sup>	248
Bavaria	11	11	19	43	38 ...122% <sup>@</sup>	288

<sup>@</sup> Some respondents gave more than one answer.



"Do you believe that the execution will or will not have any influence on the planned Summit Conference?"

	<u>Yes, will have an influence</u>	<u>No, will not have an influence</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germany</u>	28%	29%	43%...100%	1676
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	34	39	27	759
Women	24	20	56	917
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	27	26	47	1400
Secondary school w/o diploma	31	41	28	220
Diploma/university	43	43	14	56
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	19	21	60	53
150 to 249 DM	30	19	51	146
250 to 399 DM	26	24	50	264
400 to 499 DM	27	33	40	271
500 DM and more	34	35	31	554
No answer	23	25	52	388
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper middle and well-to-do	32	36	32	237
Lower middle	30	30	40	976
Poor	24	23	53	463
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	32	23	45	177
25 to 34 years	30	32	38	336
35 to 44 years	31	32	37	350
45 to 54 years	25	31	44	355
55 years and over	27	25	48	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	31	32	37	396
CDU/CDU	34	29	37	685
FDP	35	45	20	51
Other parties	13	33	54	30
No party	24	32	44	162
No opinion	17	19	64	352
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	44	41	15	27
Businessmen	30	35	35	118
White-collar workers	35	38	27	260
Skilled laborers	29	43	28	230
Semi-skilled laborers	27	29	44	194
Farmers; farmhands	28	28	44	87
Housewives	24	19	57	646
Pensioners; retired	35	26	39	102
Students; apprentices	42	25	33	12
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	27	28	45	1303
Expellees; refugees	32	32	36	373
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	28	26	46	727
Protestants	30	30	40	893
Others	6	33	61	18
No religion	14	45	41	38

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	<u>Yes, will have an influence</u>	<u>No, will not have an influence</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	27%	23%	50%...100%	461
2,000 to 19,999	29	27	44	541
20,000 to 99,999	28	33	39	249
100,000 and over	29	35	36	425
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	28	33	39	159
Lower Saxony	31	29	40	238
North Rhine/Westphalia	29	29	42	502
Hesse	22	34	44	117
Rhineland/Palatinate	36	12	52	124
Baden/Wuerttemberg	28	33	39	248
Bavaria	26	27	47	288

"Do you believe that the execution will or will not have any influence on the planned Summit Conference?"

IF "Yes, will have an influence":

"Do you mean that it will prevent the holding of the conference or only that it will make negotiations at this conference more difficult?"

	It will prevent a confer- ence	Nego- tiations will be more difficult	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>West Germany</u>	3%	24%	1%	72%...100%	1676
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	4	29	1	66	759
Women	2	21	1	76	917
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	3	23	1	73	1400
Secondary school w/o diploma	3	26	2	69	220
Diploma/university	2	37	4	57	56
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	4	13	2	81	53
150 to 249 DM	2	27	1	70	146
250 to 399 DM	2	23	1	74	264
400 to 499 DM	2	24	1	73	271
500 DM and more	4	29	1	66	554
No answer	3	18	2	77	388
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well. to do	3	28	1	68	237
Lower middle	3	26	1	70	976
Poor	3	19	2	76	463
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 24 years	3	28	1	68	177
25 to 34 years	3	26	1	70	336
35 to 44 years	3	27	1	69	350
45 to 54 years	3	21	1	75	355
55 years and over	3	23	1	73	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	6	24	1	69	396
CDU/CSU	3	30	1	66	685
FDP	2	31	2	65	51
Other parties	-	13	-	87	30
No party	2	20	2	76	162
No opinion	1	15	1	83	352
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	3	41	-	56	27
Businessmen	3	26	1	70	118
White-collar workers	4	29	2	65	260
Skilled laborers	2	26	1	71	230
Semi-skilled laborers	5	22	*	73	194
Farmers; farmhands	2	25	1	72	87
Housewives	3	20	1	76	646
Pensioners; retired	4	31	-	65	102
Students; apprentices	-	33	9	58	12
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	3	23	1	73	1303
Expellees; refugees	3	27	2	68	373
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	3	24	1	72	727
Protestants	4	25	1	70	893
Others	-	6	-	94	18
No religion	3	8	3	86	38

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

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	<u>It will prevent a confer- ence</u>	<u>Nego- tiations will be more difficult</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>Not asked</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	2%	24%	1%	73%...100%	461
2,000 to 19,999	4	24	1	71	541
20,000 to 99,999	3	24	1	72	249
100,000 and over	3	25	1	71	425
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein,					
Hamburg, Bremen	2	23	3	72	159
Lower Saxony	4	26	1	69	238
North Rhine/Westphalia	4	24	1	71	502
Hesse	1	20	1	78	117
Rhineland/Palatinate	8	28	-	64	124
Baden/Wuerttemberg	2	24	2	72	248
Bavaria	1	24	1	74	288

"How great, do you think, is the actual American interest in holding a Summit Conference, very great, great, or slight?"

	Very great/ Great	Slight/ No interest whatever	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germany</u>	47%	19%	34%...100%	1676
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	58	24	18	759
Women	37	15	48	917
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	44	19	37	1400
Secondary school w/o diploma	62	17	21	220
Diploma/university	57	30	13	56
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	21	13	66	53
150 to 249 DM	49	13	38	146
250 to 399 DM	44	18	38	264
400 to 499 DM	44	21	35	271
500 DM and more	55	22	23	554
No answer	41	16	43	388
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper middle and well-to-do	54	20	26	237
Lower middle	47	20	33	976
Poor	42	16	42	463
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	45	15	40	177
25 to 34 years	48	23	29	336
35 to 44 years	47	21	32	350
45 to 54 years	50	21	29	355
55 years and over	43	14	43	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	48	26	26	396
CDU/CSU	56	16	28	685
FDP	63	23	14	51
Other parties	33	30	37	30
No party	41	22	37	162
No opinion	27	14	59	352
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	67	22	11	27
Businessmen	53	25	22	118
White-collar workers	55	22	23	260
Skilled laborers	57	27	16	230
Semi-skilled laborers	48	21	31	194
Farmers; farmhands	41	18	41	87
Housewives	38	13	49	646
Pensioners; retired	46	18	36	102
Students; apprentices	59	8	33	12
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	45	19	36	1303
Expellees; refugees	53	18	29	373
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	47	17	36	727
Protestants	47	20	33	893
Others	39	22	39	18
No religion	39	32	29	38

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	<u>Very great/ Great</u>	<u>Slight/ No interest whatever</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	39%	15%	46%...100%	461
2,000 to 19,999	49	18	33	541
20,000 to 99,999	51	23	26	249
100,000 and over	47	23	30	425
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	50	24	26	159
Lower Saxony	53	13	34	238
North Rhine/Westphalia	46	22	32	502
Hesse	53	11	36	117
Rhineland/Palatinate	40	19	41	124
Baden/Wuerttemberg	50	16	34	248
Bavaria	37	21	42	288



"And how great, do you think, is the actual Russian interest in holding a Summit Conference, very great, great, or slight?"

	Very great/ Great	Slight/ No interest whatever	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germany</u>	17%	48%	35%...100%	1676
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	21	61	18	759
Women	13	38	49	917
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	15	47	38	1400
Secondary school w/o diploma	25	52	23	220
Diploma/university	25	64	11	56
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	9	32	59	53
150 to 249 DM	14	44	42	146
250 to 399 DM	18	42	40	264
400 to 499 DM	15	50	35	271
500 DM and more	19	57	24	554
No answer	15	44	41	388
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper middle and well-to-do	22	50	28	237
Lower middle	17	50	33	976
Poor	13	43	44	463
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	19	39	42	177
25 to 34 years	18	52	30	336
35 to 44 years	16	55	29	350
45 to 54 years	18	51	31	355
55 years and over	14	42	44	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	20	54	26	396
CDU/CSU	18	54	28	685
FDP	37	51	12	51
Other parties	7	56	37	30
No party	20	43	37	162
No opinion	7	32	61	352
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	33	48	19	27
Businessmen	17	65	18	118
White-collar workers	23	52	25	260
Skilled laborers	22	64	14	230
Semi-skilled laborers	14	53	33	194
Farmers; farmhands	18	45	37	87
Housewives	12	38	50	646
Pensioners; retired	19	43	38	102
Students; apprentices	8	59	33	12
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	16	48	36	1303
Expellees; refugees	18	52	30	373
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	16	47	37	727
Protestants	17	50	33	893
Others	28	28	44	18
No religion	26	45	29	38

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	<u>Very great/ Great</u>	<u>Slight/ No interest whatever</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	12%	44%	44%...100%	461
2,000 to 19,999	18	48	34	541
20,000 to 99,999	21	52	27	249
100,000 and over	17	52	31	425
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	15	53	32	159
Lower Saxony	12	52	36	238
North Rhine/Westphalia	16	53	31	502
Hesse	15	51	34	117
Rhineland/Palatinate	15	46	39	124
Baden/Wuerttemberg	26	41	33	248
Bavaria	15	43	42	288

"When you consider present political developments, do you think it probable or improbable that a Summit Conference will actually take place? (Very probable or probable?) (Not so probable or very improbable?)"

	<u>Very probable/ Probable</u>	<u>Not so probable/ Very improbable</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>West Germany</u>	43%	25%	32%...100%	1676
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	54	30	16	759
Women	34	20	46	917
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	41	23	36	1400
Secondary school w/o diploma	54	30	16	220
Diploma/university	68	28	4	56
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	21	23	56	53
150 to 249 DM	41	19	40	146
250 to 399 DM	36	25	39	264
400 to 499 DM	46	23	31	271
500 DM and more	52	29	19	554
No answer	40	20	40	388
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper middle and well-to-do	53	26	21	237
Lower middle	44	26	30	976
Poor	38	20	42	463
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	41	19	40	177
25 to 34 years	48	25	27	336
35 to 44 years	49	24	27	350
45 to 54 years	42	28	30	355
55 years and over	38	24	38	458
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	44	32	24	396
CDU/CSU	50	24	26	685
FDP	59	29	12	51
Other parties	46	27	27	30
No party	41	22	37	162
No opinion	28	17	55	352
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	70	26	4	27
Businessmen	52	30	18	118
White-collar workers	51	29	20	260
Skilled laborers	53	33	14	230
Semi-skilled laborers	46	25	29	194
Farmers; farmhands	36	24	40	87
Housewives	35	18	47	646
Pensioners; retired	41	26	33	102
Students; apprentices	50	25	25	12
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	42	25	33	1303
Expellees; refugees	49	23	28	373
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	42	22	36	727
Protestants	45	26	29	893
Others	55	17	28	18
No religion	50	29	21	38

(Cont'd on next page)

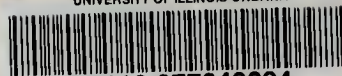
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	<u>Very probable/ Probable</u>	<u>Not so probable/ Very improbable</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	37%	20%	43%...100%	461
2,000 to 19,999	42	27	31	541
20,000 to 99,999	57	22	21	249
100,000 and over	44	28	28	425
<u>Land:</u>				
Schleswig/Holstein,				
Hamburg, Bremen	45	28	27	159
Lower Saxony	48	20	32	238
North Rhine/Westphalia	43	28	29	502
Hesse	43	30	27	117
Rhineland/Palatinate	36	26	38	124
Baden/Wuerttemberg	49	19	32	248
Bavaria	38	22	40	288





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